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Canada-Asia Working Group

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA

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INTRODUCTION

Background on CAWG

The Canada-Asia Working Group (CAWG) is an ecumenical coalition founded in 1978 and sponsored by the United, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches of Canada, the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, and the Canadian Friends Service Committee ("the Quakers"). CAWG's main activities involve solidarity relations, human rights advocacy and assisting the Canadian churches in their programmes and policies related to Asia.

The Canada-Asia Working Group is guided and motivated in this work by the commandments that form the heart of the Christian gospel: to love God, which we understand to compel us to endeavour to protect and enhance the dignity of all created in the divine image; and to love our neighbours, which we understand to entail a commitment to seeking justice and peace for all.

Canadian churches and religious organizations have deep and historic links with a wide range of groups in Asia, including church bodies, development agencies, human rights groups and peoples' organizations. In preparing these reports on human rights, members of CAWG have made numerous visits during the past year to the countries discussed and have often worked with local partners in investigation and documentation.

Focus and Priorities

The present document is neither exhaustive nor comprehensive. The focus on particular country situations has been determined primarily on the basis of two factors: the extent of Canadian church relations with local partners and the severity of human rights problems. It is understood that there are numerous other countries in the region in which there are serious human rights issues that demand the urgent attention of concerned Canadian citizens and the Canadian government. However, CAWG's mandate does not at present extend to areas other than the ones dealt with here.

The Canada-Asia Working Group prepares these reports on an annual basis prior to meetings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), which take place in Geneva during February and March. The reports also form the substance of our contributions to consultations with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs, held in Ottawa in January, which are intended to advise Canada's official delegation to the Commission. The reports are subsequently submitted to the Human Rights Commission and distributed to countries and NGOs participating in its work. For the past six years, members of the Canada-Asia Working Group have been delegated by the Canadian Council of Churches to assist the work of the World Council of Churches' observer team at the Commission itself.

1994 Session of the UNCHR: Special Concerns

In past years, we have noted with concern the tendency of many governments, in sessions of the UNCHR, to avoid dealing with specific country situations in which human rights violations are actually occurring. Instead of citing concrete examples related to such matters as arbitrary detentions, torture or the repression of workers rights, under the appropriate agenda items, states have tended to "name names" only under agenda Item 12, which is reserved for addressing only the most serious and persistent situations of gross and systematic violations. (It is therefore not surprising that human rights NGOs focus so much energy on Item 12 and see this as the only site for raising specific country concerns.)

This practice, which Canada has also adopted, has compromised the effectiveness of the Commission. Canada should lead the way in breaking this traditional behavior and seek innovative ways of using the UNCHR agenda to address specific cases of human rights concerns.

Where country situations have been explicitly discussed in recent years, reference to "special situations" has often been used to excuse human rights violations. In some cases, the idea of "improvements" has indicated a subtle acceptance of a "tolerable level" of human rights abuse. Appeals to particular national difficulties or to internal conflicts have been made to legitimize human rights violations. The burdens of poverty, foreign debt, the illegal drug industry, or the exigencies of fighting insurgencies have also been cited as justification for human rights abuses by the military or other state agents. Canada should provide leadership in helping to reverse these trends by re-affirming the indivisible and universal character of all rights, as stated in the Vienna Declaration.

The Commission on Human Rights still devotes too little attention to serious human rights violations in Western countries, particularly the increasingly common phenomenon of racist attacks on foreigners and refugee claimants, and discrimination against foreigners and refugee claimants, lending substance to the criticism that the human rights activities of the United Nations are focused on countries from the South and not on those of the North. It is critical that the rapporteur on racism and xenophobia be adequately resourced and encouraged to address with equal attention the violations which are taking place in North America and Western Europe. Such explicit scrutiny of the situation within WEOG-nations may help to diffuse the North-South polarization within the UNCHR.

EAST TIMOR

Background: East Timor at the United Nations

The grave human rights situation in East Timor is common knowledge now. Since the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991, during which at least 100 people and possibly as many as 273 were killed, there has been growing international attention on the plight of the people in the territory, as well as significant shifts in international opinion about Indonesia's operations in East Timor.

Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor in 1975. Up to 200,000 East Timorese, a third of the population, died from the killing and famine resulting from the war. In 1975, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution, reaffirmed year after year, recognizing the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and calling on Indonesia to withdraw "without delay its forces from the territory."

But subsequently, support for East Timor at the United Nations declined. In 1982, a relatively weak resolution was passed at the UN General Assembly, which asked the Secretary General to "initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned," in view of finding "avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem." In the meantime, very little was done by the international community to secure Indonesia's compliance to the U.N. resolutions.

Various events in East Timor since 1989 - the student demonstrations during the 1989 visit of the Pope, the 1991 planned visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation, but particularly, the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991, combined to break East Timor's isolation. "Witnessed by foreign journalists, the Santa Cruz massacre provided indisputable evidence of Indonesian atrocities in East Timor," [1] sparking worldwide condemnations from governments and non- governmental organizations.

At the 48th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the issue of East Timor, particularly the massacre, was the focus of several interventions. Nonetheless, the Commission opted to adopt a chairman's consensus statement, instead of a resolution, which registered serious concern over the human rights situation in East Timor and obtained Indonesia's commitment to facilitate access to East Timor by humanitarian and human rights organizations.

International concern about East Timor continued to mount. At the 49th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a strongly worded resolution was adopted, asking Indonesia to account fully for all the people killed during the massacre and those still missing and to treat all the Timorese in custody in accordance with international humanitarian law, and expressing concern about the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on civilians not indicted for violent activities and those given to the military personnel directly involved in the violent activities. In a rare move, the Commission asked Indonesia to invite 4 U.N. special rapporteurs and working groups - on torture; extrajudicial, summary and arbitrary executions; arbitrary detention; and enforced and involuntary disappearances - to visit East Timor.

A few months later, the U.N. Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities passed in August 1993 another resolution on East Timor urging Indonesia to comply with the resolutions of the UNCHR. What was significant about the resolution is that it declared the forcible removal of East Timorese prisoners to serve jail sentences in various parts of Indonesia in contravention of the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Civilians in Time of War.

Unfortunately, Indonesia has moved very slowly on these recommendations, even on the commitments it undertook in the 1992 statement. Access to East Timor has not been given to human rights organizations, like Amnesty International and Asia Watch.

Even when access is granted, the Indonesian military and police make it impossible for the mission to obtain information and protect the people. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has been experiencing serious obstruction to its activities, such that it was forced from May to July 1993 to suspend prison visits in East Timor. Although operations have resumed, the ICRC, according to its President Cornelio Sommaruga, continues to have problems *"to see the people, to circulate in the territory, to contact the families of those who are in prison."* [2]

One official mission allowed was that of members of the Swedish parliament, who were very unhappy that they could not "see real life". "Throughout our visit in East Timor, our every move has been closely watched and all movements thoroughly monitored by the military as well as the police," MP Ingela Martensson said.[3]

A testimony of a recently released political prisoner from Colbera prison in Dili describes the measures taken by the military to withhold information on human rights cases: *"When members of the International Red Cross visit, they take the prisoners into the city, and then say that the prisoners are not there; or that they are out visiting their families. When one of us is going to talk to the Red Cross, they place a small and powerful tape recorder inside our shirt, so that they can hear our replies... When Mr. Amos Wako came, I went to speak to him, and they hid a recorder beneath my shirt, so I was not free to say what I wanted."* [4]

Up to now, Indonesia has failed to answer key questions about the Santa Cruz massacre: the true number of the people killed and those still missing. "We have yet to really get the number of people missing...this is a matter that must be gone into a bit more," the U.N. Secretary General's Personal Envoy Amos Wako said at the end of his second visit to East Timor in April 1993. The government appointed commission stated in December 1991 that 50 people were killed. The latest official tally that Wako got from the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Ministers placed the number of persons killed at 23 dead and the missing at 61. But the Indonesian Armed Forces now say 19 people were killed and 66 were missing. A non-governmental organization provided Wako with a list of 112 missing persons.[5]

Canada, which had consistently abstained or opposed U.N. resolutions on East Timor from 1975 to 1982, lobbied actively for the consensus statement at the 48th UNCHR session. But at the 49th session, Canada attempted to block the passing of a resolution, preferring instead another consensus statement. Then it decided, at the last minute, to co-sponsor the resolution. This shift in Canada's position towards the East Timor issue, although clearly with great caution, is a small but welcome development.

Current Situation

Theo Syafei, the armed forces commander in East Timor, announced in early 1993, the disbandment of the special military command, Kolacops. He also said that troop levels inside East Timor would be reduced to two local battalions and 8 territorial commands. "This is not true," Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo said. "On the contrary, they are increasing the presence of military units in all places." [6]

According to the Bishop, the following battalions remain in East Timor: "Batalyon Tempur - to fight the Fretilin; Batalyon Territorial - to do "development" work, but all they do is spy on the people and beat them; Kodim - soldiers in administrative centres and villages for military and social services, for control and intelligence gathering; Batalyon 745 and 744 - special units consisting of Timorese and Indonesians to fight the guerilla; Police, who are to be found everywhere; the security troops, Hansip and Ratih - East Timorese civilians, trained to collaborate with the military; and Battalions of commandos, known as Nanggalas , "the worst" - to spy, capture and torture."[7]

During a recent visit to East Timor, the Canada-Asia Working Group (CAWG) saw the overwhelming presence of Indonesian troops throughout the territory and experienced the extremely harsh repression of the East Timorese people. Everyday, the people are subjected to various forms of military harassment and intimidation - random identity card checks, strict surveillance on people, residences, even whole villages and towns, requiring villagers to report family visitors or any stranger entering their neighbourhoods, regular rounding up of villagers for interrogation and short time detention - creating a situation that one Timorese described as like "living in a prison camp." "We lack the freedom to speak, to walk where we want, to have different opinions. If people talk, they will be interrogated. They will be tortured." "Nobody dares to speak the truth." The people of East Timor live in a state of fear. [8]

The strategy of territorial command, implemented by Syafei, in which soldiers penetrate every village and town and live with villagers, is a way of tightening further the military's control over the population, the goal of which is to cut off support for the resistance movement and suppress the people's aspiration for self-determination.

Violation of Civil and Political Rights

The human rights situation in East Timor is not any better since the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. People's freedoms are continuously and severely curtailed; their rights flagrantly violated.

Arbitrary Arrests, Detention, Torture

The Swedish parliamentary mission to East Timor in September reported that the military continue the "practice of arresting and detaining people without charges for short periods and then requiring them to report daily or week to the police after their release. [9] On 14 May 1993, Rui "Los Palos" , a student in Singaraja, Bali and two others Timorese studying in Jakarta, were arrested shortly after returning home to Dili, on suspicion that they were supporting independence.[10]

Waves of mass arrests happened during the year, occurring mostly during periods of potential unrest, such as the visit of the U.S. congressional aides in September 1993 and in the weeks prior to the anniversary of the Motael killing in October and the November 12 massacre. A CAWG staff member, who visited Dili in September, learned that a few days before the visit of the U.S. congressional aides, soldiers rounded up young Timorese in Dili and took them away in five army trucks to unknown destinations. This was intended to prevent any pro-independence rally from taking place. Several more youths, who had attempted to stage a demonstration on September 5 were also arrested. Amnesty International listed 53 detainees in its urgent action, but this was denied by Syafei before the Swedish parliamentarians, saying that they were merely "rounded up to be given guidance by the state apparatus."[11]

Reports also say that twelve people involved in the November 12, 1991 demonstration have not been tried in court, but have been put under this "system of guidance", until their anti-Indonesian sentiments are "eliminated". [12]

Because Indonesian authorities in East Timor refuse to acknowledge the existence of political prisoners, it is difficult to get information on their identities and whereabouts. CAWG learned from a detainee on visit with his family, that there are at least 200 detainees in Viqueque. Often, the victims of such arbitrary and unacknowledged detention are subjected to various forms of abuses.

Torture is routinely used in prison: prisoners are tied and dunked in tubs of water until they are nearly drowned, burned with cigarettes and subjected to mock execution.[13] One detainee, Henrique Belmiro Guterres, had his ten fingernails extracted and his arms broken in several places.

The right of prisoners to fair and humanitarian treatment are often violated. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the resistance, was held incommunicado. Access to him by human rights groups and family members was, for a considerable period, closed and even now, is still tightly controlled. He and 13 other political prisoners, including Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha and Francisco Miranda Branco, were forcibly removed from East Timor to various prisons in Indonesia, which according to the U.N. Subcommission is in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention. [14]

Extrajudicial executions continue to occur. Two village heads, Armando and Vicente, in Waigae, Vermasse were reportedly shot by Red Berets. [15]

Denial of Fair Trial

The trials of the East Timorese, who were arrested and convicted for their part in the demonstration preceding the 12 November 1991 massacre in Santa Cruz failed to meet international standards for fair trial, according to international lawyers groups and human rights advocates. For one, access to legal counsel was obstructed to the extent that, in several cases, the defendants met their counsels only on the day of the trial.

In the case of Xanana Gusmao, the Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists reported that there is sufficient evidence indicating that Gusmao did not have the freedom to choose his legal counsel and was interrogated for lengthy periods without access to lawyers; he was also prevented from reading his defense plea - all these in breach of international as well as Indonesian law.

The captured successor of Gusmao, Ma'Huno, up to now has not been tried in court. Following the highly publicized trial of Gusmao, Indonesia apparently does not desire any more international attention on its human rights conduct. The whereabouts of Ma'Huno is still unclear, as the ICRC has not been allowed to visit him.[16] The military say that he had surrendered and is now staying with an Indonesian family, which can only mean that he is in the hands of the military.

The Indonesian practice of charging and sentencing all East Timorese political prisoners, according to the criminal code, on the basis that being political is forbidden in East Timor, likewise, violates the right to fair trial.

Curtailment of the Rights to Movement, Expression and Association

The dominating presence of the military and police and the various ways they employ to intimidate the East Timorese people seriously curtail their freedoms of expression, movement and association. As any visitor to East Timor knows, most East Timorese refuse to speak about the situation or anything that might be construed as political for fear of government agents and informers who are everywhere. One missionary told CAWG that young Timorese avoid being seen gathering in public places, even for their prayer meetings, because police informers could suspect them of plotting political activities. Church people said that their mail is routinely inspected and believed that their telephones are bugged.

In Alas, Fatuberliu, people were not allowed by the military to go farther than two kilometres from their vegetable gardens.[17]

In February, Bishop Belo reported that the military have been conducting ceremonies in different districts all over East Timor, during which the people were forced to renounce "past links" with the resistance movement and required to drink animal blood as a sign of their allegiance to Indonesia. Many of the victims never had links with the resistance. "For me and for us from the church, this is a form of pressure on the people, forcing them to say what they don't want to say," the Bishop said. [18]

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The East Timorese people have a very clear and strong sense of being a distinct people, with their own "political, ethnic, religious, historical and cultural identity, which makes (them) different (from) the Indonesians. In the struggle to preserve (their) own identity, the Timorese have always resisted Indonesian occupation."[19]

Indonesia continues to forcefully pursue the policy of integration. Apparently, it believes that the popular resistance can be neutralized and the people ultimately subjugated by suppressing and transforming that distinct Timorese identity. The enforced learning of Bahasa Indonesia and history from an Indonesian perspective is a vehicle for the repression of Timorese culture. East Timor's 12 languages, including Tetun, are on the brink of extinction.

Transmigration is another method of cultural dilution and suppression. A visitor to East Timor observed that 2 out of 3 people he spoke to in Dili were non-Timorese.[20] More transmigrants are being settled in Alas, Natarbora, Suai as well as in the south coast. These reports of the influx of transmigrants into East Timor were confirmed by an announcement made by the Central Transmigration Office that the government had transmigrated 100 hundred families to the territory in 1992 and was planning to transmigrate another hundred families from Central Java in 1993.[21] According to many Timorese, whom CAWG met at a recent visit, transmigration is also Indonesia's way of changing the demographic make up of East Timor, to minoritize Timorese in the event of a referendum on independence.

Pancasila respects the freedom of worship. Yet in East Timor, the government is actively promoting Islam. Leaders of the Catholic Church, while respecting the right of worship, are objecting because they believe it does not

arise primarily from a religious motivation, but is rather aimed at subverting the Timorese identity and undermining the Church's credibility. About 90 per cent of the Timorese people are Catholic. For them, "the Catholic faith is a symbol to unite them, a way of expressing that they are Timorese." [22] Over the years, the Church has been the one tenuous source of protection from Indonesian repression.

The authorities continue to interfere in and restrict the Church's activities, in violation of the freedom of worship and Pancasila principles. Certain activities, like Bible and prayer meetings are not allowed by the military because they suspect these activities are used for political discussions. When the Bishop visited the parish of Maliana and Bobonaro on September 1-2, the people from the village of Saborai were prevented by the military from attending the Mass. The Bishop is suspected by the military of organizing the demonstration on 5 September. [23] A few days earlier, the military had interrogated another priest, suspected of helping to plan a demonstration in Baucau for the visit of the U.S. congressional aides.

Indonesia claims that they are in East Timor to help it develop. But development has focused on infrastructure that reinforce their rule in the territory. As most East Timorese point out, the Indonesian-built schools teaching Bahasa Indonesia are vehicles to "Indonesianize" young Timorese; the building of roads are necessary to facilitate the movement of troops as well as justify the continuous presence of Indonesian soldiers in the countryside.

Development has not brought about significant improvement in the well being of the Timorese people; instead it has resulted in the violation of the East Timorese right to their land and resources. Because of transmigration, many Timorese have been forced off their traditional lands. The coffee trade, which is East Timor's main source of export income, are now in the hands of monopolies which are dominated by Indonesian generals. [24] Local businesses are controlled by Indonesian settlers. "We are better off without their development," one Timorese said.

In fact, the Timorese people feel discriminated against. Non-Timorese settlers are preferred for the jobs in the government and private sectors, even as huge numbers of Timorese are unemployed. Moreover, transmigrants are made to believe that the East Timorese ways, like their subsistence agriculture, are primitive and backward and need to be replaced by Indonesia's more advanced ways and agricultural systems. Bishop Belo is concerned by the growing "native-migrant dichotomy [that] has developed with [the] widening economic gap between the groups." [25]

Protection of Human Rights

There are no human rights groups or mechanisms to monitor and investigate human rights violations in East Timor and to protect the people from abuses. This is a major concern considering the continuing rampant and flagrant human rights abuses in the territory.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has maintained its delegation in Dili. It conducts prison visits and assist victims and their families. But it is facing many constraints. Foremost, are the restrictions imposed by the military. Secondly, because the delegation is composed of only two persons (as of September) its capacity to respond to requests for assistance is quite limited. Finally, the mandate of ICRC specifically restricts it from publicly disclosing its findings as this might jeopardize their work and close the access to the victims completely.

The church is the only institution in East Timor that can afford the risk of publicly speaking out against human rights abuses and defending the people's rights. But because of military control and surveillance, going to the places where these abuses happen or speaking to victims and witnesses or visiting the places of detention to ascertain the condition of victims is extremely difficult, if not impossible. In addition, they must proceed cautiously because they themselves are unfairly suspected by the military. Many, in fact, have suffered harassment because of this.

Right to Self-Determination

Human rights issues in East Timor cannot be separated from the issue of self-determination. Human rights abuses are the product of Indonesia's war to suppress the East Timorese struggle for their right to self-determination. Human rights abuses will continue for as long as there is no peaceful resolution of the political question. [26]

There is some new impetus towards a negotiated political solution of the problem. The East Timorese resistance movement has repeatedly extended its offer to "negotiate without preconditions". It has indicated its willingness "to meet the Indonesians halfway" in order to reach "an internationally acceptable solution that guarantees the East Timorese right to self determination and respects Indonesia's interest."[27]

On the other hand, the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Alatas was quoted as saying that "the position is to find a way somewhere in the middle" and that Indonesia is prepared to work with the U.N. for a "just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution." [28] Hopefully, this reflects a change in the position of the Indonesian government, which until now, has been inflexible.

Another ray of hope is the agreement reached during the 3rd round of the U.N.-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal and stated in Paragraph 5 of the U.N.statement, that the ministers of both countries "noted the Secretary General's intention to carry out contacts as he deems useful in his efforts to assist in the solution of the question." This can be interpreted as an acknowledgement, for the first time made publicly, that the Secretary General is working to include East Timorese representatives in the talks, as required by UNGA resolution 37/30 of 1982. [29] However, Indonesia has been actively promoting the "conciliation talks" between the pro- integrationist and anti-integrationist East Timorese from both inside and outside

East Timor. There are serious concerns that Indonesia, exploiting the differences within the East Timorese movement, is attempting to remove East Timor out of the U.N.-sponsored talks.

"A fair and lasting peaceful solution cannot be reached without the participation of independent representatives of the East Timorese people." [30] In view of this, it is important that the U.N. Secretary General: a) include Timorese leaders from East Timor, particularly Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and Xanana Gusmao, in his consultation process; and b) ensure the direct participation of representatives of the East Timorese people in the negotiations, even as the need to build confidence between the parties involved, necessitates that their participation in the current stage of the U.N. sponsored talks be done in an indirect manner.

Conclusion and Recommendations

A major issue that requires to be addressed by the government of Canada and the United Nations at the 50th Session of the Commission on Human Rights is the failure of Indonesia to honour its commitments undertaken in the UNCHR statement and resolutions. As a consequence, there is hardly any improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor.

At the 50th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Canadian government should:

1. declare its grave dissatisfaction over the failure of Indonesia to honour the recommendations of the United Nations for the improvement of the human rights situation in East Timor;

2. urge the Commission to obtain a comprehensive report from the Indonesian government on the measures it had taken to honour the commitments undertaken in the 48th UNCHR statement and in compliance with the subsequent U.N. resolutions;

3. condemn in the strongest terms the harsh repressive measures applied by the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor and the consequent grave and rampant violation of the people's civil and political rights and call for an end to the transmigration programme, the suppression of the Timorese language and culture and other policies which are aimed to forcibly assimilate the East Timorese people;

4. ask Indonesia to disclose information on the identities and whereabouts of all political prisoners and allow relatives, church representatives, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other human rights and humanitarian organizations to visit them;

5. call for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor as the first step to alleviate the human rights situation;

6. call for the setting up of an independent Human Rights Commission in East Timor, to be headed by the Catholic Bishop of East Timor or his representative and include external human rights experts;

7. call for the appointment of a U.N. Special Rapporteur to investigate the human rights conditions in East Timor;

8. urge the U.N. Secretary General to include East Timorese representatives from within East Timor, like the Bishop of East Timor and Xanana Gusmao, in his consultation process and ensure their direct participation in the negotiations as provided by UNGA resolution 37/30 of 1982.

Notes

1. "East Timor: Time for Change," Timor Link, October 1993.
2. The West Australian, Perth, 15 September 1993.
3. LUSA, 15 September 1993.
4. Testimony of a political prisoner recently released from Colmera prison, Dili, obtained by the Canada-Asia Working Group, May 1993.
5. UPI, Jakarta, 8 April 1993.
6. "Bishop Belo's Diary of Oppression," Timor Link, October 1993.
7. Ibid.
8. New York Times, quoting Bishop Belo, 21 April 1993.
9. From a copy of the press conference given by the Swedish delegation, Jakarta, Indonesia, 17 September 1993.
10. Amnesty International Action Appeal, 20 May 1993. 11. Jawa Pos, 2 November 1993. 12. This was reportedly what Theo Syafei told the visiting U.S. congressional aides in September.
13. Testimony of a recently released political prisoner from Colbera prison, Dili, May 1993.
14. Tapol Report, 22 May 1993.
15. Bishop Belo's Diary of Oppression....
16. ETRA, Sydney, 15 June 1993.
17. Bishop Belo's Diary of Oppression....
18. Timor Link, No. 26, June 1993.
19. Konis Santana, leader of the resistance movement, in a letter to Portuguese president Mario Soares, 14 August 1993. 20. Report of an Australian doctor who visited East Timor, May 1993.
21. The Indonesian Times, 3 September 1993.

22. Belo, Interview with CIIR, October 1993.

23. Ibid.

24. Fr. Domingos Soares, Interview with Australia Broadcasting Co. 5 July 1993.

25. Belo, UCAN, Dili, Sept. 27, 1993. 26. Abe Soares, Testimony at the 49th UNCHR.

27. Jose Ramos Horta, Chair and Special Representatives of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, in his speech upon receiving the 1993 Prof. Thorold Rafto Human Rights Award, Bergen, November 4, 1993; Konis Santana, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement in a letter to Portuguese president, Mario Soares.

28. Tapol Bulletin, No. 119, October 1993.

29. Tapol Bulletin, No. 119, October 1993.

30. Hans Goran Franck, international lawyer, Member of Parliament, Swedish Parliamentarian Delegate at the Council of Europe, after a visit to East Timor, 17 September 1993.